DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 441 885 UD 033 550

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TITLE	Latina Educators and Dominant School Discourse: The Costs of Success.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	2000-04-27
NOTE	31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 24-28, 2000).
CONTRACT	R305R70004
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Conflict Resolution; *Cultural Differences; Educational Experience; Elementary Education; Elementary School Teachers; Females; Higher Education; *Hispanic Americans; *Literacy Education; Minority Group Teachers; Preservice Teacher Education; Sex Differences
IDENTIFIERS	*Latinos

ABSTRACT

This study analyzed cultural conflicts of Latina educators as reflected in descriptions of literacy learning at home and school and of their teacher education experiences. Tensions are examined in terms of conflicts between authoritative discourses and various strategies for negotiation that these educators used. The study was part of a larger project involving teachers and paraprofessionals at two large, urban California elementary schools with predominantly poor, Latino student populations. The larger project examined how Latinas' school experiences related to their instructional practices in their own classrooms. Data for this study include transcripts from two focus groups and 12 interviews. Participants were five bilingual, biliterate teachers at each school. Interviews and focus groups examined teachers' memories of learning to read, both at home and school, and teachers' experiences in higher education and teacher preparation. Results highlight: conflicts (e.g., never getting the necessary support, gender issues, and clashes between values of differing discourses of home and school); discourses surrounding the tensions (who educated people are, with whom educated people associate, and what counts as evidence of education); and Latinas' strategic responses (silence or distancing and internalization or adoption of school values and perspectives). (Contains 13 references.) (SM)

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LATINA EDUCATORS AND DOMINANT SCHOOL DISCOURSE:

THE COSTS OF SUCCESS

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Paper for Presentation at

The American Educational Research Association Conference

April 2000

New Orleans, LA

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA. April 2000. The report described herein was supported under the Educational Research and Development Centers Programs, PR/ Award Number R305R70004, as administered by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. However, the contents of the described report do not necessarily represent the positions or policies of the National Institute on Student Assessment or the National Institute on Student Achievement, Curriculum, and Assessment or the National Institute on Early Childhood Development, or the U.S. Department of Education, and you should not assume endorsement by the Federal government.

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Teacher educators and education researchers are paying increasing attention to the disparity in racial and ethnic identity between students and public school teachers. In California, nearly 80% of teachers are white, slightly less than the comparable national figure, while only 40% of the state's students are white. Latinos make up 11% of California's teachers, but 40% of the state's student population (Yates, 1999). Universities have implemented various programs intended to increase the pool of credentialed bilingual teachers and teachers of color (August & Hakuta, 1997), including the Latino Teacher Project (Genzuk & Hentschke, 1992), which structures a career ladder to encourage bilingual paraprofessionals to obtain a teaching credential. Still, 80% of preservice teachers are white females. A central assumption behind increasing the representation of people of color is that children will learn better from a teacher who shares their cultural background, or with whom they experience "cultural congruity" (RRQ).

Latinos who enter the teaching profession have successfully maneuvered higher education. However, most attention in education research is paid to Latinos/as who are in academic peril or drop out (Cummins, 1989; Fine, 1991; Freire & Macedo, 1987), and their analyses focus on ways that the school disables students who "fail". In contrast, we examine Latina teachers' memories of their schooling experiences. We wondered what happens to successful students' identities and relationships as they acquire language, habits, preferences, and values associated with school discourse? Conflicts between authoritative discourses arose for a variety of reasons. Yet, participants never reported any conflict over education as a positive goal. Instead, we found tensions related to how, where, when, for whom, and for how long, education would occur.

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Gee (1996) distinguishes between discourses and "Discourses." The latter, capitalized, he describes as an "identity kit." He defines Discourse as

> a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and 'artifacts', of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role'. (p. 131)

He also describes persons as possessing a primary Discourse, what we call the home culture, and Discourses that are acquired later in life that influence and reshape the primary Discourse, one of which we trace as school culture, and which includes the Discourse of being a teacher. The successful acquisition of the Discourse of teacher, then, requires the acquisition of the language of schools, which is typically framed by white, male, middle class "sensiblities".

However, this acquisition process does not mean however that the primary Discourse is shed. Rather, Latina teachers must engage in a continual process of negotiation, incorporating and blending the new into the old and vice versa. Often, when the various Discourses share values, this negotiating activity proceeds relatively smoothly, resulting in the useful and creative weaving of individual lives and experiences. Yet, when the values of different Discourses conflict, painful tensions can result and further negotiation is required. In this study we focused on the conflicts between home and school Discourses as they emerged in interviews.

We do not attempt to exhaustively define home and school Discourses. Instead, in an effort to inventory those messages that seemed relevant to particular kinds of conflicts, we attempted to trace the voices behind those messages. We conceive of these voices as "authoritative discourses" (Bakhtin, 1981). Bakhtin describes these discourses as the most distant in time and proximity, and while they may be attached to a speaker, such as a parent or teacher, other may be associated with key "texts" like the Bible or mass media. The authoritative

discourse "permits no play with its framing contexts" (p.343) and demands to be addressed. At times participants' discourses appear to be in their "pure" forms, but we expect that there is blending between home and school messages. In fact, one authoritative discourse, that of Chicano college organizations, is a clear hybrid.

We believe culture is integral to analyzing "discourses." Yet culture is a slippery concept. Gundaker (1998) describes culture as an activity that proceeds through time and space, as shared patterns of organizing principles for activity, and as multiple, in which the mixing of resources from differing backgrounds is the norm rather than an exception. He contrasts this view of culture with that traditionally held in anthropology where cultures are "stable and discrete entities that change from time to time or disappear" (p. 206). Further, he asserts that the perspective of culture as an activity entails "seeing humans as engaged in a battle to render livable stabilities against a backdrop of constant motion" (p. 206). We concur with Gundaker's notion and found it useful in our examination of Latina educators' negotiation of school and home discourses regarding identity.

In our examination of these various discourses, we attended to three different aspects associated with identity; their saliency was fluid and shifting. We use the term "Latino" to describe these teachers' ethnicity. "Latina" includes persons whose origins are in Latin America. Participants in this study had origins in Mexico and El Salvador. Some of them describe themselves as Chicana, a term with political origins in the *movimiento*, or Chicano Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 70s. A second aspect of identity that we focus on is gender. All of the participants in this study are women. 70% of California teachers are women (Yates, 1999) and because home and school discourses aimed at women and men differ. A belief in gender as

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primarily a social construction framed our paper. We place women at the center as objects of inquiry and as active agents in the gathering of knowledge (Stacey & Thorne, 1985). We view gender as a critical aspect of individual experiences.

Immigration status was the third aspect of identity that we foregrounded. All of the participants are either immigrants or the children of immigrants. Some arrived in the U. S. with legal papers, others did not, and both their immigration status and legal status were salient to some of the conflicts they described.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to analyze cultural conflicts of Latina educators as reflected in descriptions of literacy learning at home and at school, and of their teacher education experiences. We examine those tensions in terms of conflicts between authoritative discourses and describe various strategies for negotiation that these educators engaged in as each constructed their own Discourse of Latina teacher.

Method

This study is part of a larger project involving thirty teachers and paraprofessionals at two large, urban elementary schools in Southern California. The larger project examines how Latinas' school experiences relate to their instructional practices in their own classrooms. Both schools have majority Latino student populations, and both are in poor neighborhoods. The data for this study are taken from the larger data set, and include the transcripts of two focus groups and twelve interviews.

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The participants included five teachers at each of the schools. Some participated in the USC Latino Teacher Project and some have participated in other research projects. They are all bilingual, biliterate, and have three to five years teaching experience.

These data are drawn from the first two of three phases of data collection. The interviews and focus groups from the first phase centered on the teachers' memories of learning to read, both at home and in school. Teachers past experiences were explored through retrospective interviews (Sturtevant, 1996). Those in the second phase were directed toward the teachers' experiences in higher education and teacher preparation. Both individual interviews and focus groups lasted from one to two hours and all sessions were audiotaped and later transcribed.

We employed a constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to create the categories of 1) conflicts, 2) discourses, and 3) strategies. We then elaborated the categories of discourses and strategies to three types each. In the next section, we present each of these categories illuminated by data.

Findings

The strategies that these Latina educators employed to negotiate tensions testify to various kinds of agency. All of the participants seemed reluctant to engage in our definition of outright resistance to any of the authoritative discourses, we recognize their agency in negotiation as having both resistant and reproductive consequences (Dworkin & Messner, 1999), some intended, others perhaps not. This recognition allows us to enlarge our understanding of resistance to include absences or silences, as in Henry Giroux's (1987) description of "illiteracy" as a political action characterized by the refusal to acquire mainstream discourse. We have

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structured our findings into three sections: conflicts that arose, discourses surrounding the tensions, and the Latinas' strategic responses.

Conflicts: *"I don't think I really ever got the support that I wanted."*

All of the teachers talked about wanting support in their academic studies from family, from the schools, and from friends. They received varying degrees of it from one or two of those sources at different times. But conflicting values in these authoritative discourses often resulted in diminished support for the teachers, straining their relationships with certain individuals involved.

For example, Rosa described her elementary school as a place where she could find relief from the responsibilities of home and family where, as the oldest child and a daughter, she was expected to cook and clean, as well as care for her younger siblings. Schoolwork was "so simple compared to what I had to do at home." She also said that her father was the "biggest obstacle" to her education because he wanted her to marry early and have a family. Here, the school discourse conflicted with familial gender expectations.

Livia's mother and stepfather were supportive of her education through high school, but she described their support in very specific terms; "...from a very early age I was always told, 'You're going to school to learn English.' It was never, 'You're going to school to learn math, writing, reading...." Livia connected this message to her role as language broker in the family. From the time she was young, Livia's parents depended on her to translate their interactions with the world. Their specific support for her schooling as related to language would increase her

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ability in that role for the family. The familial focus on language conflicted with school's desire to provide instruction in multiple disciplines.

Conversely, Olga remembers that her creativity was strongly supported by her family, through storytelling and projects, but discouraged at school. She felt that her creativity "had no place in school because we were following a rigid format." Olga found the inflexible school curriculum which she described as "work, work, work" to be unsupportive of her growth as a creative person.

Participants also highlighted meanings of gender in some of the conflicts. Eva remembered that her Chicano studies classes were mostly male, which she attributed to traditional values guiding the family's choice; "if a Latino family had to send someone to college, it would be the male rather than the female, if they could only pay for one person." She also recounted that the few women in the class were well aware of the traditional values implied by the gender imbalance and they spoke up in ways that encouraged the men to be "more enlightened."

Nonetheless, most of the conflicts described by the teachers involved situations in which they felt compelled to adjust to both the demands of school, and to those of family relations and expectations. Typical of these is Eva's example. She married after high school, then continued to college. Originally she said that she wanted have four or five children right away, but adjusted that expectation in light of the demands of college. Saying that she really enjoyed being a student, she realized that having a family would be "problematic," so she held off having her first child until her senior year in college and decided to have only two. At the same time, in college she began to struggle with a heavy reading load; "...under regular circumstances the

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reading was not a problem. But if a family obligation or problem came up, that was my priority regardless… It is just understood." She explained further that she did not see this as her family being unsupportive, but the deeply held value that "you have to help us first."

The conflicts that teachers described typically involve clashes between values of differing discourses of home and school. While teachers were rarely left without resources, the conflicts did restrict the amount and type of support they perceived themselves as having access to. We see these conflicts as never really resolved but ongoing. Different aspects of these conflicts become more or less salient depending on the actors, the time, the place and other contextual factors. The impact of ongoing negotiating strategies changes the texture and shape of conflicts, altering participants and contexts.

Discourses

We identified three types of messages regarding education that came from school, home, and hybrid sources. Each of these types of messages answers a question, and their implications overlap. We frame the three questions thus:

1) Who are educated persons?

2) With whom do educated persons associate?

3) What counts as evidence of education?

Answers to these questions lead us to a discursive constellation that has implications for teachers' goals, habits, speech and writing practices; personal and professional relationships; and identities as women, as Latinas, as persons of a certain social status, and as teachers.

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"I had to finish school and I had to be someone."

Being educated and "being someone", as in this quote from Rosa, were frequently equated in our interviews. In fact, many of the teachers described the opportunity for education as a key motivator in their families' decision to immigrate to the U.S. Parents' desires for their children's success were frequently framed in opposition to their own status. 'Don't be like me,' teachers recounted having heard their parents say; 'don't work in a factory,' 'as a janitor,' 'doing what others tell you to do.' Parents, and sometimes siblings, were described as having made considerable sacrifices in the name of providing schooling. Olga recalled her father describing it this way:

> We're poor. You're not going to inherit any money from me. The only inheritance that I'm going to give you is a pass so you can go to school because your education is the only thing that you're going to keep with you all through the years. And that's something that I'm not going to give you, I'm going to push you to get there but I'm not going to take it away from you or anybody.

Most of the teachers described a strong message from home in support of furthering their education.

Another message defined in opposition concerned relatives who participants described in admiring terms, and as "uneducated" or "illiterate." Linda talked about her aunts and uncles, who were hard workers and had bought their own homes, as her role models, but also noted that none were "educated." She described her grandmother who "never had education, but she knew how to sell stuff." Linda also told how her grandmother taught her how to give massages to her patients. She said she didn't know where her grandmother learned the skill, or how she came to have patients, but that she admired her grandmother greatly. Participants valued formal education, yet not negate informal education.

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Angelina described how gender influenced education in her family's history. She described her grandmother as "illiterate" because she wasn't allowed to go to school in El Salvador, but also as a "feminist" because "she made sure that all her children went to school, and a lot of them did go to university." Angelina remembered her grandmother telling her that "the more educated you are, the more power you have. You can be independent and don't have to depend on anyone." Angelina's grandmother was very supportive of her granddaughter's college education, at least in part because it was denied to her.

School discourses addressed types of students. Many of the teachers were placed in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes when they were in elementary. ESL was described as different from "regular English." "Regular" students teased ESL students, making fun of their accents and language use. Participants described moving up and out of ESL, which focuses on the acquisition of basic skills, as an important part of their educational goals. ESL students were exposed to an important, but less valued type of education. Another reason that ESL classes may be perceived as less valuable is that in high school they do not meet the requirements for English established by state university systems. College-bound students must take "regular" English courses in order to increase the likelihood of their acceptance into college, and to avoid remedial English classes.

When describing the type of student they recalled being in high school and college, several participants said they were "nerds." According to their descriptions, nerds were focused on their studies, spent a lot of time reading and in the library, had limited social circles and activities, and worked all the time. While their families generally supported their school efforts,

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they also sometimes saw the behavior of nerds as excessive when it came into conflict with family obligations.

Regarding ethnic identity and education, most of the participants attended monocultural Latino schools until high school, and some until college. Their initial contact with students of different races and ethnicities was challenging for some. Eva's school experiences were more diverse than the rest of the group. She remembered that in elementary school, she noticed that the white children seemed to share a common cultural experience that she was unaware of. The other children knew fairy tales and Disney stories that she did not. She saved her extra money at home to buy those storybooks, and now makes a point of introducing mainstream culture stories to her own Latino students.

As their schools and classrooms became more diverse, several teachers described becoming aware that Latinos as a group were not considered to be academically successful. Mauricia recalled a speaker at a university MeCha (*Movimiento Estudantil Chicano de Aztlán*) meeting who addressed perceptions of Latinos as students. She said the speaker told the assembled students that because they were Latino, they were statistically more likely to drop out. He encouraged them "not to become a statistic, stay in school, graduate." Mauricia credited the speaker with motivating her to complete her degree.

Similarly motivated, Rosa described a teacher that she saw as a role model of an educated person:

> I always looked up to her so much. I still know how she looked. She was always dressed really professional. She never wore tennis shoes. I was always intrigued by her professionalism and…I wanted to be like her.

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Rosa's image from childhood impressed her and has stayed with her. Her memory demonstrates how even seemingly superficial associations, such as demeanor and dress, have an important role in the construction of what an educated person is.

The authoritative home discourse that identifies an educated person was frequently defined in opposition to the parents' roles. It names the educated person as "someone" in the world who does not have to do manual labor or take orders at the bottom of a workplace hierarchy. It also respects nonformal education and hard work. Women have had fewer educational opportunities in the past, and for some, that lack of opportunity continues to recent times, especially for the poor.

The school authoritative discourse values ESL classes less than "regular" classes. Behaviors associated with serious students, or nerds, are valued by the school, but do not carry social currency with most students, and may strain family relations. When ethnicity becomes salient, Latinos are perceived as less academically successful than others and may feel the need to prove their worth as students.

"The other Latinos at my school started calling me 'coconut'."

When participants experienced success in school, it often meant that their social networks changed. One type of separation was related to language ability, with English learners usually placed in ESL classes. Another separation was based on literacy ability. Several of the teachers remembered being placed in leveled reading groups in elementary school. Not surprisingly, friendships were formed with the other children with whom they were placed. In this way, school sorting strongly influences children's social connections.

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At the secondary level, several teachers observed that once they were on a college track, they had less contact with other Latinos. Eva established more friendships with whites and Asians because they were students in her classes. Her Latino friends "were my friends because they had been my friends forever...[but they] didn't have such a high success rate." Rosa struggled to remember the names of the two other Latinas that had been in her classes, saying "I was more with the Asian crowd." After Carla moved to a racially mixed neighborhood, she found herself hanging out with "the academic people, the popular people." Her best friend was African-American and their other friends were white. She said that the other Latinos at school called her a "coconut" and "Ebonia Oreo cookie", meaning she was "brown on the outside but white on the inside." Joining the college track in high school meant less contact with others of the same ethnicity, and sometimes subjected them to negative judgments by other Latinos.

Most of the participants confronted racial diversity in college. Carmen described college as a time when "my eyes kind of opened up and I saw life differently." Several teachers described their initial encounters with people from other cultures as "strange" and "weird." Carmen found that socializing with whites "didn't really feel too comfortable, but I did it anyway to make friends."

For some of the participants, finding other Latinos to socialize with helped ease the transition to college. Several stayed on the Latino floor of a university dorm. Others joined MeCha, or other Latino organizations. Rosa joined the Mexican American Student Organization at the urging of a friend and found that it helped her overcome her shyness. Two participants who had been involved in MeCha later left because they saw it as "too radical."

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Most of the teachers made an effort to connect with people of other cultures. Some even avoided Latinos. Carmen said that simply sharing the same background was no longer sufficient to justify a friendship; "I really didn't interact with my own people or any African-Americans...simply because I'm from East L.A. or Hispanic." However, most eventually tried to build friendships with Latinos who shared their interests. As Rosa said, "The friends I made then are still my friends now. We have similar goals. We are still going to college. We are talking Ph.D., we're finishing up our masters. We are still on the college path. Those friends are still there."

Only one of the ten teachers in this study is married. Most avoided dating relationships through high school and college, partly because of strict family rules, and partly because of the demands of schooling. Also, their expectations in a partner were influenced by their schooling, which we address further in the next section. Several described attempts at maintaining a relationship, but described their boyfriends as unsupportive and demanding of their time. Rosa reflected on how her life was different since she had a career and her ex-boyfriend did not. She speculated that men may find her more intimidating since she is educated, adding, "some of my male friends thought, I don't know what they thought, but communication just stopped."

In college, these teachers tended to seek out other Latinos with similar goals whose shared cultural backgrounds helped them to feel more comfortable in an unfamiliar institution. Many of them avoided dating and marriage since pursuing an education complicated potential relationships. The home discourse regarding rules of association was not strongly voiced, but there seemed to be an acknowledgement that education might strain relations with others in the neighborhood and potential romantic partners. The school discourse enforces social networks

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based on achievement levels. This separation in schools increases as students age. For Latinos, who occupy fewer places in college preparatory tracks, this often means the construction of new social networks and potential alienation from Latinos in different tracks.

"It makes you a much better person when you read."

Getting good grades, earning degrees, and obtaining credentials were among the many ways that participants marked a more general evidence of their education. Marta, the youngest of five children described how proud her mother was of all of them by listing their credentials. "[My mother] has an attorney [Marta's oldest sister], my brother's a supervisor with the County as a social worker, my other sister graduated in public administration, my other sister is in business administration, and I'm a teacher." She recounted how a white family that her father worked for had befriended her family shortly after they arrived in the U.S. Marta's parents held the couple, both professionals, up as role models for Marta and her siblings. "This is the way to go," her parents told them, "You can do that, but you have to get an education."

Other evidence of education centered around language use and literacy. Olga told how, in retrospect, she thought that her family's custom in Mexico of storytelling helped her learn how to speak well. There were many members in the family, and after the older ones had told stories, the children were expected to participate as well. "Our family stressed oral skills.... It was our way of entertaining ourselves.... TV was forbidden in our house.... We learned, "If you're going to express yourself, you've got to do it quick, fast and to the point, or else you lose your turn."

Eva also recalled a family practice that she now credits for her strong bilingual and biliterate skills. Her grandmother would spend two hours nightly reading from religious texts

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and praying with Eva. At the time, she recalls, "it was kind of like cruel and unusual punishment for me." Now, she looks back and values these practices for how they have helped her in school and in her career:

> It exposed me to history and then I had questions, so it exposed me to think about things and question things. It exposed me to print and reading in English and Spanish. When I started reading and writing in English, she still maintained my bilingualism at home by forcing me to read in Spanish, not letting me forget, not letting me stop practicing it.

Both of these quotes exemplify practices that the teachers did not value as developing literacy until years later. We also found examples of behaviors that counted as evidence of education at the time.

Participants highlighted the ability to use Standard English as evidence of education. "Correctness" in speech, as well as in writing, was considered to be a clear indicator of education level. Rosa named her current boyfriend's speech as something that immediately impressed her when they met, and motivated her to ask him to proofread her work. "I told him, 'Read my paper.' 'Why?' [he asked.] 'Because you talk so perfect in English.' He has a more sophisticated vocabulary than I do, so I thought, 'Wow, this guy knows how to talk.'" Carmen's father can speak and write English, but refuses to out of embarrassment that he'll make a "mistake." Her entire family continues to speak Spanish at home, even though they are all able to speak English. She also remembered that at school, especially elementary and junior high, she thought that it was "cool" to speak English.

Writing English "correctly" was both valued and a potential obstacle for the teachers in this study. Linda remembered fondly a teacher who "really focused on grammar. I have problems with grammar, but she tried to help me.... She gave me worksheets in order for me to have good grammar. Every day she gave me at least two worksheets on grammar." Angelina

remembered grammar exercises as fun; "The easiest thing in terms of writing that I remember was when we had to dissect a sentence. I could tell you the verb, the direct object, the noun." Rosa described how she reshaped her image of an ex-boyfriend, whom she had planned to marry, because of his writing skills. When he sent her a card, she recalled, "I was so disappointed in his writing. I was very disappointed.... [I thought,] 'I'm not going to say anything because he will never write to me again.' He had a lot of spelling errors, a lot of incomplete sentences." They broke up not long afterwards. For Livia, the value of correctness in writing became an obstacle when she had to write a statement as part of her application to college. She said, "I had to do it by myself and I wasn't that confident in my writing." She later took the statement to a teacher who was her mentor for him to proofread.

Finally, reading was considered evidence of education, especially reading "good stories", reading quickly, and remembering what was read. Olga remembered both of her parents as very supportive of her education. Her mother bought many books and an encyclopaedia for Olga and her siblings. Linda remembered beginning to succeed in school when she was able to "read faster and pay more attention to the reading." Rosa recalled reading challenging books as a child and says that she strives to provide the same kinds of books—"real stories, full of meaningful language, more challenging words"—to her own students.

Ironically, though it is Eva's quote that heads this section, she, like most of the other participants in this study, does not enjoy reading. "I've always read what I had to. I always did well in school—it came easy to me. So, I just read what I had to read to do well. And it's still like that." Although she, and the other teachers, value reading, it is not something she chooses to do for pleasure.

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The family discourse regarding what counts as evidence of education included speaking and writing "correctly", earning certificates and credentials, and achieving high grades. Two teachers highlighted home storytelling and religious practices that they consider to have helped them in their educational careers. While the school discourse does not differ greatly from the home, school is where the emphasis on reading is made.

The discourses surrounding our participants constructed the definition for an educated person, who that person would associate with, and what counts as evidence of education. These discourses influenced teachers' goals and habits; speech and writing practices; personal and professional relationships; and identities as women, as Latinas, as persons of a certain social status, and as teachers. We found our teachers reacted in various ways to the reified discourses.

Strategies

As participants described the ways that they negotiated conflicts between various discourses, we traced their strategies and identified two approaches. Sometimes they engaged in these strategies singly, and sometimes collaboratively. Usually when they described a collaborative action, it was taken in conjunction with other Latinas. The two approaches to resolving conflicts that we identified are:

1) silence or distancing;

2) internalization or adoption of school values, perspectives.

For purposes of analysis, we frame these strategies in relation to school discourse because we assume the primary, or home discourse as the default discourse. We also believe that these strategies are in constant flux. We have named two in an attempt to further this discussion.

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"Forget it, I'm not even going to deal with it."

Mauricia's high school made student field trips to several universities in Northern California, and she decided that she wanted to apply to two of them, both with excellent reputations. However, when her mother responded with, "Oh no, what are you going to do? You're a girl. You can't go up there. How are you going to live by yourself?", Mauricia found the clash of values overwhelming. She recalled thinking, "Forget it, I'm not even going to deal with it," and attended a college that was accessible by bus from her home thus lessening the tension with her mom. We found similar refusals to act in the face of conflict with the other Latinas. While we cannot ascribe intentions, nor clearly trace consequences, we believe that these silences or "inactions" may contain multiple intents, such as lack of emotional or other resources, reluctance to damage relationships, and resistance to authoritative discourses. The consequences of this strategy are similarly difficult to trace, and unless the transcript makes a clear connection, we do not speculate.

One area in which participants responded with silence or distancing was in class activities that were difficult or uninteresting. Livia recalled being in the third grade and not understanding the language arts activities:

> I would sit there and look at [the paper] and be very quiet. That was a very tough thing. If I looked at my shoes long enough, the day would be over with, and they wouldn't pick on me, and I would be okay for the day. But I would pay attention to the words that were there, I do remember looking at the words.

Livia remained silent hoping to avoid the possibility of publicly making a mistake, but she was not "checked out"—she tried to find a safe way to learn the content. She described elementary school as "very frustrating" on account of not yet having enough English skills to excel in class,

and more so because her low grades prohibited her from participating in extracurricular activities.

Rosa described using a similar strategy in a college English class. She remembered feeling "lost" during small group discussions of literature; "You had to read Moby Dick, Thoreau, all these people that I could never understand. It was hard to decode these books.... They are so famous yet I don't understand why. Is it because of their difficulty?" In all likelihood, other students in the class were struggling as well, but Rosa failed to ask for guidance. Asking for help is an expected behavior from college students, but Rosa's belief that she was the only one not understanding the text prevented her from doing that.

Eva responded to the ethnically different social mix in college with silence. "I didn't speak to anyone, I didn't know anyone and everybody was white. I just thought, 'Well, I'm here to get an education, not to socialize.'" It wasn't until she started her teacher preparation courses that Eva met other Latinas that became her friends. Interestingly, Eva recalled that "somebody" at the first college she attended told her that "Latinas don't join sororities." When she transferred to a college where sororities were more socially important, she didn't consider the option of joining, hewing to the earlier authoritative discourse.

Olga shared an example of distancing herself from her own writing. She said that kept diaries from childhood until recently, "big, thick books." Four years ago, she read through them then threw them away. She found the reading interesting and said;

> it helped tremendously because it's a reflection. It's bits and pieces of you and it shows your growth.... I remember going back to it and thinking, 'Wow, this is not me, this totally not me.'"

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We find it equally interesting that Olga discarded these documents that reveal ways in which her identity changed from being a young student in Mexico, through her immigration to the U.S. at the end of high school, her college experiences, and now as a teacher, describing them as no longer relevant.

Perhaps the most disturbing example of the use of silence as a strategy to deal with conflict was recounted in a focus group. Rosa recalled that "we had so many problems because it was an entire Latino floor" in a predominantly white university.

> We had fires. We actually had people starting fires on our floor. Discrimination, I don't know what you would call it.... Bulletin boards would be torn down and little things. To me, I didn't feel it as much as other people felt it. I didn't feel it like that. I didn't take it personally. We never did find out who they were, but there was animosity. I felt it at times. I never took it seriously.

Rosa decided to not take apparently racist violence personally because it would have jeopardized her education, for which she had already struggled with her father. During this same conversation, Marta, who attended the same university, recalled that "[I] didn't think of myself as another Mexican-American, another Hispanic, Latino, whatever you want to call it.... I was just another person coming to [the university]." Seeing herself as a person without ethnicity would be a reasonable self-protective strategy in the climate that Rosa had described.

Using silence or distancing appears to have been a strategy used by most of these Latinas in order to protect important relationships, avoid public embarrassment for lack of English or school skills, and to avoid the real and personal implications of racist violence.

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"This whole change came over me."

A second strategy we describe is the internalization or adoption of school values or perspectives. In this section we present data that reflect participants' changing views that seem to be associated with having an education. We would like to highlight again that these moves toward internalization are themselves hybrid, having been blending with participants' home discourses. As Marta described it, using educational terminology, "Obviously your culture helps to shape you. The fact that I've experienced things through culture makes them part of my schema."

Several teachers remembered "loving school." It represented a place where they could be recognized for their performance, an orderly place with clear rules, and for some, a way to escape limited family expectations. Rosa reflected, "I don't know where I'd be right now without school. Probably I'd be married with kids...everyone around me is getting married and having kids."

Perhaps because they did well in school, teachers internalized some values of the school discourse, sometimes devaluing home discourses in the process. For example, Rosa recalled that in college, she wrote a paper analyzing the Virgin of Guadalupe, the dark-skinned image of the mother of Jesus, revered by Catholics across Latin America. The sacred image, believed to be the result of a miracle performed for an Indian peasant named Juan Diego by the Virgin herself, hangs in a basilica built to house it in Mexico City. Rosa laughed at herself as she remembered describing the Guadalupe as a "cult", reflecting the influence of the class she was taking.

In the previous session, we presented part of Mauricia's story about choosing to attend a college close to home because she didn't want to deal with her mother. After a year at college,

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she confronted her mother, something that had been unthinkable the year previous; "I told my mom, 'That's it. I am not riding the bus anymore. I don't care what you say... I'm moving out there. Take it or leave it.' She said, 'Fine.'" Her mother acquiesced, but Mauricia added that their relations were strained through college.

Another way that Latinas internalized school discourse was through the adoption of school standards to judge themselves and others. Livia reported that she took as many Advanced Placement courses as possible in high school:

> I took AP English, I took AP Calculus...I took AP Composition, AP Literature, AP Spanish Composition, AP Spanish Literature. I mean, any APs that were out there, I was taking them because I was not going to be mediocre. [I took them] to prove to myself that I was not stupid.

Livia accepted the school-based standard and applied it to measure her own intelligence and character.

Olga reports that she has "pushed" her mother to continue her formal education beyond the five years she received in Mexico. She said that she is puzzled by her mother's reluctance to "do something more" because after all, it was their mother that pushed her and her two siblings to complete their college degrees. Her mother "starts taking courses, then drops it. She doesn't follow through." Olga said that she gives her mother "pep talks"; "'Yes, it is hard, but you'll get your reward', and she never did it." Having completed her higher education, Olga was disappointed that she couldn't help her mother to make similar accomplishments.

Eva, whose quote heads this section, reevaluated the world that she grew up in after going to college. Her comments don't necessarily devalue her home culture, but they do reflect the distance between who she is now and who she was before extended formal education. We end this section with an extended quote from Eva:

> This whole change came over me. I started thinking about things. Not drastically, maybe more responsibly, more realistic because I saw that this is the real world.... You really start to understand the broader picture. Until you get [to college], you're kind of isolated, protected from things. You start changing...getting educated makes you think about things.

Conflicts occurred between various discourses but the participants were able to create strategies that allowed them to navigate these conflicts. By silencing or distancing themselves, the Latinas were able to build a protective barrier between themselves and the conflict. On the other hand, there were instances where the Latinas internalized the values and perspectives of the school and its teachers. These instances reflect some different strategies of interaction with school discourse.

Conclusion

In her poem "Borderlands" (1997), Gloria Anzaldúa describes the experience of being Latina in the United States. Tension, violence, struggle and uncertainty are the norm, not the exception, in her description:

...
In the Borderlands
You are the battleground
Where enemies are kin to each other;
You are at home, a stranger,
The border disputes have been settled
The volley of shots has shattered the truce
You are wounded, lost in action
Dead, fighting back
...(Anzaldúa, 1997)

And so we have framed the negotiation of home and school discourses of Latina educators through conflict. We have not done this in order to suggest that cultural border crossings can or

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should be without conflict. Indeed, Anzaldúa also describes the Borderlands as an intensely creative space where new forms are created, shared and recreated. Nor do we support a romantic idealization of home cultures. The teachers in this study live in real worlds and, as much as they have struggled, they also benefit in many ways from their educational experiences and professional standing. Finally, neither do we maintain that successful students and teachers of color should more completely assimilate into mainstream culture. As Fine (1991) remarks, "As a culture we need to worry a lot about the adolescents who are being tossed out of public school. But we also need to worry about the racial, cultural, and class-based anesthetizing performed on those students who constitute the 'academic successes' of low-income urban schools" (p. 137).

Rather, we maintain that teachers, students and schools as institutions would profit from making "invisible" discourses "visible", and thereby available for analysis. Further, we contend that by engaging in such analyses, teachers and students would develop more critical awareness of ways that discourses and structural inequities are mutually constitutive, which in turn can promote voice and personal options, and help teachers to avoid reproduction of asymmetrical power relations in schools.

In the home and school authoritative discourses that we traced above, which addressed the labeling and sorting of educated persons, the rules of association for different educated persons, and what counts as evidence of education, conflicts were typified by some sort of clash of values or preferences. Teachers were required to expend energy to reduce tensions between these conflicting discourses, usually resulting in a temporary pacification, until the next conflict. In these contexts, with often heavy demands from both home and school, they had little time and scant motivation to stand back and critique the dynamics of their situations. Consequently, the

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strategies that the teachers used in their negotiations generally lacked a critical element, leaving structural factors that contributed to the conflict unproblematized.

Teachers tended to receive rather than question the authoritative discourse expectations, from both home and school, which made demands on them based on their age, their social class, their gender, and their ethnicity. And as teachers made choices that shaped their identities in various ways, they weren't encouraged to be critical of those changes either. When they resisted an authorized message, it was often in invisible and silent ways, as in the refusal to speak, or read, or "deal" with things. And usually that resistance was individual rather than collaborative. On the contrary, collaborative efforts that teachers described were aimed at meeting or enacting home or school discourse demands, as when they worked on school projects together or met as teachers to plan their reading program. Atypical was Eva's recollection of the women in her Chicano Studies classes banding together to challenge the stereotypically traditional notions of male students and teachers.

Although the Latinas may have intended to use culture in order to be successful in the classroom, this was often not possible. In order to be successful they needed to rely on other resources in addition to culture. It is ironic that the school system, which encourages homogenization, then calls on the Latinas' "cultural knowledge." As successful learners they were required to disassociate from many cultural ways of knowing, yet it is assumed they will instinctively teach in "culturally appropriate ways" when they enter the profession. This assumption is problematic. If Latinas or Latinos do not connect cultural knowledge with their own schooling success, why should they connect it with the success of their students?

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This study points to paths that can increase the repertoire of strategies available to new educators of color. We recommend identifying the various discourses of preservice teachers and those of the educational institution, then "reading" and commenting on those discourses together. Professors and students could ask questions such as: What does it mean to be educated in your homes and at this school? How do people associate with one another at home and on campus based, or not, on their education? What counts as evidence of education at this school and in your homes? The questioning could be expanded to include other sites as well, such as other worksites, and professors' and students' neighborhoods or church communities. This collaborative inquiry could interrogate structural relations by asking questions such as: Who and which institutions benefit/suffer from these understandings?

Central to this type of examination is the analysis of the teacher education programs and school sites themselves because these are the locations where the reproduction of social inequalities is carried out. Having analyzed meanings that are implicit in discourses and ways that those meanings delimit life chances, teachers could begin to make informed decisions about how they envision their classrooms as the same as or different from the ones in which they grew up. Teachers of color could also consider ways to recruit the resources of their own students while they guide them in similar critical discussions in order to provide to students also the possibilities for conscious change.

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